Volume LXXXV CHICAGO, April 29, 1920 Number 9

UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

The saddening sense of human woe is deep
Within my heart, and deepens daily there.
I see the want, despair and wretchedness
Of smarting men, who wear, close pent in towns,
The galling load of life; the rich, the poor,
The drunkard, criminal, and they that make
Him so, and fatten on his tears and blood.
I bear their sorrows, and I weep their sins:—
Would I could end them! No: I see before
My race an age or so; and I am sent
For the stern work, to hew a path among
The thorns—I take them in my flesh—to tread
With naked feet the road, and smooth it o'er
With blood, and fainting, I shall lay my bones
In some sharp crevice of the broken way.
Men shall in better times stand where I fell,
And journey singing on in perfect bands,
Where I have trod alone, no arm but God's,
No voice but his. Enough!—His voice, his arm.

—*Theodore Parker.*

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL—
Notes 131
Two Eminent Victorians.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 133

THE PULPIT—
The Message of William Ellery Channing.—ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY 137

CONTRIBUTED—
How Prohibition Has Worked in America.—LUCIA AMES MEAD 139

SELECTED—
The Great Question: "Will the Lesson of the War be Lost?"—*Anatole France* 137
The Wicked Bolshevists.—*Charles F. Dole* 140

THE STUDY TABLE—
Three Important New Books on Asia.—J. T. SUNDERLAND 141

POETRY—
Poem.—*Theodore Parker* 130
A Prayer.—HARRIET LAKE-BURCH 131
Failure.—*Theodosia Garrison* 138
Castle in Spain.—*Witter Bynner* 140

THE FIELD—
Allied Democracy and the Jews 143

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

ESTABLISHED 1878

$3.00 PER ANNUM.

With THE FREE RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, THE CONGRESS OF RELIGIONS, and all other organizations and individuals seeking to widen fellowship and to realize the Brotherhood of the Spirit unrimmed by creed, form or sectarian prejudices

EDITORS
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
FRANCIS NEILSON

ASSISTANT EDITOR
EDITH LLOYD JONES

Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE
Pamphlet Mission
FOR
FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER
IN
RELIGION.

Publishing Committee:
Robert Collyer, Chicago. Wm. C. Gannett, St. Paul.
Jenkin Ll. Jones, Janesville. C. W. Wendte, Cincinnati.
J. C. Learned, St. Louis.

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

Frances L. Roberts, 65 Washington St., Chicago, - Business Agent.
J. T. Sunderland, 65 Washington St., Chicago, } Editors of
Geo. W. Cooke, Grand Haven, Mich., - } "Notes and News."

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS
Charles E. Beals
Harry Foster Burns
Charles W. Casson
George Willis Cooke
Percy M. Dawson
Frank C. Doan
Charles F. Dole
James Waldo Fawcett
Zona Gale
Emil G. Hirsch
Chester Lloyd Jones
David Starr Jordan
George Grover Mills
George W. Nasmyth
Susan M. Quackenbush
Frederick Starr
Jabez T. Sunderland
Albert R. Vail
Arthur L. Weatherly
James H. West

UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Boulevard, CHICAGO, ILL.
"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879."

Phone Oakland 489 JANITORS' SUPPLIES
Everything in
HARDWARE
AT
PORTER'S
4236 Cottage Grove Ave.

WRIGHT & COMPANY
STEAM—DOMESTIC
COAL
TELEPHONE WABASH 5028
Main Office:
28 E. Jackson Blvd.
CHICAGO

KENWOOD FLORAL CO.
HENRY HILMERS, Prop.
Choice Plants and Cut Flowers
Phone Oakland 78. 1117 East 47th Street

Sample Copies of UNITY
Sent Upon Request

The Blakely-Oswald Printing Co.
PRINTERS and BINDERS
Telephone Wabash 3854 120-124 W. Polk St., CHICAGO

1902—One Wagon
1911—10 Wagons
and
FOUR AUTOMOBILES
We are patronized by those who desire and appreciate an excellent quality of laundry work.
Bissell Laundry Co.
Phone Douglas 1003
653-59 39th Street Chicago

Bowman Dairy Company
MILK BOTTLED IN THE COUNTRY
Milk Cream Butter Buttermilk
DO OUR WAGONS SERVE YOU?
WHY NOT HAVE THE BEST?
4221-4229 State Street Telephones at all Division Offices
EVANSTON CHICAGO OAK PARK

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXV THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 1920 Number 9

A PRAYER.

Lord of My Life
Forbid that I should learn to love one thing
That I should be unhappy with it gone!
Bid me to so appreciate my loves
That I shall go on loving when the stars
Have drifted back to chaos in the storm;
That I shall go on seeing when the sun
And all the warm refulgence of the day
Are merged into the outer dark
And let my Heart be warm
Even in death
Amen.

Harriet Lake-Burch.

"There is but little hope of ending war," writes Major-General Sir George Aston, of the British Army, in an article in *The Nineteenth Century,* on "How the Next War Will Be Fought." This, it may be said, is now the sober judgment of men everywhere, so far at least as the influences of the Great War are concerned. When the next war will come, seems to be regarded as uncertain; a recent dispatch in the New York *Times,* by Walter Duranty, intimates that it is already on the way. But when it comes, we may be sure that it will be described as "the war to end war"—that men will be exhorted to fight in order to save their children from the horrors which they are enduring—that statesmen will talk about making "the world safe for democracy"—that conscientious objectors will again be vilified and persecuted—that the mob will once again go mad and enslave humanity in a new and greater militarism. We are frankly pessimistic about this war business! And yet we know that Sir George Aston is wrong—that, despite his declaration, there is great hope of ending war! To get the governments into the hands of peoples—to end censorships and propaganda and press conspiracies—to democratize industry, and thus substitute public service for private profit—to abolish national armaments on land and sea—to establish a genuine international league or union—in short, to institute a new world order, in which love and co-operation would be as easy as are hatred and rivalry in the present world order—this would end war! Men have wiped out other evils before this. War also shall go, though it cost us a struggle that brings us near to death!

The carefully-propagated doctrine that the Germans are the only people guilty of atrocities in time of war—that the deeds committed by German soldiers in Belgium and northern France were unprecedented in ferocity—is receiving some hard blows in these days of Allied invasion and occupation of alien territory. Reports coming from the occupied regions of the German Empire are almost exact duplications of what used to come to us out of Belgium. Incidentally, it should be known that the French are mainly using black Singalese troops for duty in these regions—a fact which makes us wonder what the world would have said if the Kaiser had garrisoned Belgium with African head-hunters! In Transylvania, the Roumanians have full sway, and are ruling with an iron hand. Rev. W. H. Drummond, the well-known Unitarian clergyman of England, is now in this country raising funds for the stricken Protestants of this unhappy region, whom he visited some time ago, and the tale which he has to tell is one of horror. All atrocity stories, of course, whether told of Germans, French, Roumanians or Americans, are subject to liberal discount. But still does it remain true that militarism, of one country quite as well as of another, is essentially cruel. The Germans committed atrocities yesterday, as the Roumanians are committing atrocities today, not because Germans are Germans and Roumanians are Roumanians, but because *war is war!* "Men in war," as Latzko taught, are always much the same.

"Government ready for repressive measures" was one of the newspaper headlines in the midst of the recent "outlaw" railroad strike. In this statement we have an exact measure of the Wilson administration, and, we may say also, of the public opinion of America. No remedy for such a social ferment as the walk-out of the railroad men but threats, curses, injunctions, arrests, imprisonments, outlawry! Is there no one in Washington, or elsewhere, with knowledge enough to understand the causes at work in this and other strikes? Is there no one with imagination enough to discern the simple human factors involved in every industrial uprising, especially those which are spontaneous and uncontrolled? Take this railroad strike, for example! It is possible that this was an achievement of the I. W. W., that it was a movement on behalf of the "one big union," that it was a rehearsal for revolution. But it is at least equally possible that the railroad men, who have not hitherto been suspected of being "reds," are simply a set of ordinary human beings, of typical American citizens, who are tired of being gouged by profiteers, tired of being spied upon by secret police, tired of being ruled by a government which finds

it as easy to protect the property interests of capital as it finds it hard to protect the life interests of labor, and who are able to make their weariness and disgust effectively articulate. It is our conviction that the patience of the American people is fast reaching the breaking-point! We endured everything for a war which brought us nothing. We are being robbed by interests which use their control of the necessities of life to amass unheard-of profits. We see increasing misery among the poor and deprivation among the so-called middle class, side by side with a luxurious debauchery of the rich unmatched since the days of decadent Bourbon France. Protest and revolt begin, of course, in the lowest stratum of the population—and we have a government which has no remedy but espionage, raids and seizures, imprisonment and deportation! Is there anybody so mad as to think that this thing can go on indefinitely? Are we so ignorant as not to know what human nature always has done, and always will do, under certain conditions? This recent strike was no danger in itself. But it was a sign of danger which must be met by something other than repression, if this country is to be saved.

The recent report of Mr. Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, on the Thomas Truss case, sheds a flood of light on the deportation policy of the Department of Justice which has so stirred the country within recent months. Mr. Post states that he has examined 1,323 of the cases which were rounded up in the country-wide raids in January last, and has dismissed 933 of them as without warrant. In other words, three out of four of all of the aliens taken so violently into custody by Attorney General Palmer and his agents, were men guilty of no offense of any kind. Mr. Post declares that his report on the Truss case is extensive, because this case may be regarded as typical of most of the others. After citing the facts that Thomas Truss was arrested without warrant, examined without counsel and without being informed as to his legal rights, and held for weeks under arrest, he declares that there was no evidence against him, and dismissed the case with these impressive words on the whole situation precipitated by the Attorney General:

> It is pitiful to consider the hardships to which (these men) and their families have been subjected during the past three or four months by arbitrary arrest, long detention in default of bail beyond the means of hard-working wage-earners to give, for nothing more dangerous than affiliating with friends of their own race, country and language, and without the slightest indication of sinister motive or any unlawful act within their knowledge or intention.

It is not surprising that Mr. Palmer and his henchmen, thus totally discredited in the face and eyes of the entire country, are seeking Mr. Post's impeachment. Such a man as Mr. Post is obviously dangerous to tyranny!

In the issue of the London *Daily Herald* for March 25th last, appears a remarkable picture of a group of young men and women, who are described as members of a Student Movement Club House in Russell Square. A study of the picture shows representatives of the following twenty nationalities—China, India, Sweden, West Indies, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Ceylon, Serbia, New Zealand, Norway, Greece, West Africa, Denmark, England, France, Roumania, Egypt, Palestine (Jew), Poland, and the United States. Here are Jews and Gentiles, occidentals and orientals, blacks and whites and yellows, and all sorts and varieties of nations, and all are living happily together under the same roof, eating together at the same board, working together to the same great end of a united and peaceful world. What an indictment of our existing social order is such a fact as this—and what a promise, as well, of the future that is coming! We do not know much about this Young Students Movement; a statement by the venerable Dr. John Clifford, quoted in this same issue of the *Daily Herald*, seems to indicate that the movement is widely distributed and has other club houses of this kind. From which we infer that we have here one more illustration of that tendency among the new generation the world around, of which we spoke in these columns some weeks ago, to combine for the building of a better world! "The new world," says Dr. Clifford, "is not in churches, but in small groups of souls, in churches and outside them, who have the new spirit of devotion to the highest ideals, and are working them into life, day and night."

The *Congregationalist* speaks a brave and wholesome word in its editorial protest against the exclusion of the Unitarians and Universalists from the Inter-Church World Movement. This exclusion is of course ridiculous—as ridiculous as the similar exclusion from the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. In this case it is particularly outrageous, in view of the great pretensions of the Inter-Church Movement to being undenominational in character and purpose. The movement, however, as the *Congregationalist* points out, "could hardly have admitted the liberal bodies without forfeiting to a considerable extent the support it needed from the evangelical bodies." Which means that the Inter-Church movement is governed by principles not of right but of expediency! It is willing to sacrifice the spirit of Christ to money, numbers, worldly power and prestige. The same thing is true in its loudly-trumpeted crusade against Bolsheviks and Reds; this is an open bid for the support of capital at the expense of brotherhood. We are sorry, however, that the *Congregationalist* should advise the Unitarians to take this occasion "to utilize the aroused spiritual feeling throughout the country in the interests of

their own service in the world." Nothing could be more fatal to the Unitarians, as to others, than any attempt to magnify the denominational spirit. We would rather commend to them the lesson laid down in Edwin Markham's immortal stanza—

> He drew a circle that cast me out—
> Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout;
> But Love and I had the wit to win,
> We drew a circle that took him in!

The New York Methodist Episcopal Conference has again voted by an overwhelming majority in favor of lifting the church ban on dancing, theaters and other forms of popular amusement. In the discussion it was pointed out that the "no dancing, no theater, no circus" paragraph was inserted in the Discipline as late as the year 1872, and that Charles Wesley paid carriage hire for his boy to go to the play house. It was also emphasized that only once had any Methodist been officially called to account for dancing, and that the minister who took this action proved to be insane. There can be no question that the New York Conference has acted wisely in this matter, and it is to be hoped that the forthcoming General Conference may be similarly minded. The Methodist Church is in many ways progressive and far-visioned, and it should not be longer hampered by this senseless antagonism to the social amusements of our time. Never were diversions so necessary as they are today for the weary and distracted multitudes of modern life. Never also was it so imperative that these diversions should be enjoyed in the right spirit and under the proper auspices. It is the church's task not to outlaw amusements, but to dignify and hallow them, that men and women may find in them, in literal truth, re-creation of body, mind and spirit.

In our literary tastes, at least, we are old-fashioned. We have no love for the new poetry of the Amy Lowell-Edgar Lee Masters type, comparable to that which we feel for the poetry of the classic school. The majesty of Milton, the serene repose of Wordsworth, the lyric rapture and flaming eloquence of Shelley, still seem to us to set standards which prove the self-centered rhymsters of our day to be but pigmies after all. Not all the laudations of their mutual admiration societies can disguise the essential poverty of their thought and meanness of their language. In saying this, we are aiming no indictment at the real poets of this modern age—Masefield in England, for example, and Edwin Markham or Edward Arlington Robinson in this country. We have in mind only those feeble folk who proclaim the level earth the place for song, simply because they have not wings strong enough to bear them to the stars, nor even to the branches of the pleasant trees. Walt Whitman, in a way, began this tradition with his "barbaric yawp," as he called it. But it is time that we recognized the fact that the "good gray poet" was great in spite of his style, and not because of it. Whitman was a spiritual giant—a prophet and seer of the first rank—but he was not an artist. To seize, now, upon this limitation, and make of it a virtue, may be loyalty to the Camden bard, but it is poor service to the cause of poetry. Our *vers libre* practitioners are most of them prose writers who yearn to be poets. But why? To write prose is not a crime, and may be itself an art.

Two Eminent Victorians

It is doubtful if there is any other one important fact which could bring together, into a single article, the names of two such diverse personalities as Herbert Spencer and Florence Nightingale, but the chronological fact that both came into the world one hundred years ago, and both therefore are enjoying at this time centennial anniversaries. Born within a few days of one another—Herbert Spencer on April 27, 1820, and Miss Nightingale on May 12, 1820—these two distinguished historical personages were as different from one another as could well be imagined. Both suffered throughout all their years from physical weakness and ill health; both were unmarried; both lived the lives of recluses from the world; both endured to a great old age, Spencer dying at eighty-three and Miss Nightingale at ninety. But aside from such comparatively unimportant circumstances as these, the great philosopher and the great humanitarian were utter contrasts in experience and character. Not even a Plutarch could write parallel lives of these two "eminent Victorians." Spencer was a writer and thinker; Florence Nightingale, a reformer and woman of affairs. Spencer never entered public life but once, and described this episode in his autobiography as "the most unfortunate incident in (his) career"; Miss Nightingale, on the other hand, was in constant touch with cabinet ministers and members of Parliament, and labored through long years for vital changes in government. Spencer's name is great in the annals of peace, whereas Miss Nightingale's name is as a golden legend in the story of war. Spencer hated war, denounced militarism and ridiculed the idea of patriotism; Florence Nightingale, on the other hand, while she knew the horrors of war at their very worst, loved the glamor of military life, refused to say "that war seemed to (her) an unmitigated evil," and felt passionate, even narrow, devotion to her country. Spencer had nothing of what we would call religion; he was throughout his life the leader of the agnostic school of thought, and died with the confession, so pathetically set down on the closing page of his autobiography, "that with death there lapses both the consciousness of existence and the consciousness of having existed."

Miss Nightingale, per contra, though never orthodox in her theological beliefs, had profound spiritual experiences, professed belief in God and immortality, and lived and died in the profession of what she called "the mystical life." It is hard to believe that either one of these two great Victorians had even any interest in, or knowledge of, the other. Miss Nightingale, so far as we can discover, never mentions the great philosopher in her letters or other writings. Spencer refers to Miss Nightingale in his autobiography, but only as he might refer to one known to him as a name in the newspapers. Speaking of one of his friends, Mr. Octavius Smith, he sets down the fact that a kinsman of this Mr. Smith was a woman who "became Mrs. Nightingale of Lea Hurst; and from her, besides Lady Verney, came Miss Florence Nightingale." Of all the great figures of the matchless Victorian era of English history, were no two farther apart than these two; and yet, by a freak of circumstance, here we are observing their centenary anniversaries together!

I.

Herbert Spencer was the greatest thinker of his time, and one of the great thinkers of all time. John Fiske testifies in his "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy," "that Herbert Spencer has been surpassed by no thinker that ever lived, and has been rivalled only by Aristotle, Berkeley and Kant." It is his eternal glory, as Hector Macpherson reminds us, "that he revived speculative thinking in this country and inaugurated a new system of philosophy." Few men, in any age, have so inwrought their thought into that of their time as did Spencer; and few men so directed the thought of a whole generation throughout the length and breadth of the civilized world. In the closing years of the nineteenth century, the mind of mankind was fashioned in the Spencerian moulds. We thought the thoughts of Herbert Spencer after him—we used, even in the language of the street, the words and phrases which he taught us. Although his name was a household word in Europe, America and even Asia, his readers were always comparatively few; and yet, by a marvelous process of infiltration, his stupendous synthetic system of philosophy entered into the common mind and became part and parcel of everyday thought. Even today, when the magic of Spencer's name has gone, and the world has put behind it his philosophical system, as it has every other system of the past, he looms as the one supreme intellectual figure since Kant. Even now, when we are speaking a different language and talking of different themes, we find it necessary to resort to him as a kind of starting point. "No man of the present time," said Dr. Minot J. Savage the Sunday following Spencer's death, "can discuss any one of the great problems of the world . . . without dealing with Herbert Spencer. He has got to agree with him or fight him; he cannot ignore him."

That Spencer's influence is steadily diminishing today is evident. Spencer himself forecasted this; indeed he welcomed it as one the essence of whose thought it was that there was finality in no phenomenon of life, and in no formulation of thought. It was the very pith and marrow of the evolutionary doctrine which he proclaimed, that the old should ever be succeeded by the new, the past displaced by the present and the present in turn by the future. If Spencer's thought were to endure unchanged, then by that very fact, paradoxical enough, would this thought be utterly discredited. "There are particulars of Spencer's system," said Dr. John White Chadwick of Brooklyn, when Spencer was in the heyday of his glory, "that will require serious modification. If there are not, it will be an exception to its central law. In Spencer's world there are no finalities, and for him to imagine his own system of philosophy as one, would be impossible." A mere catalogue of his central theses reveals the rapid and sweeping changes which have taken place since his death, and which began long before his death. For example, Spencer offered a system of evolutionary thought which was fundamentally mechanistic in its terms; this system has now been remade and transformed, as it were, by Henri Bergson and others, into terms of vital creative change. In place of Spencer's supreme emphasis on the supremacy of reason, so characteristic of all the liberal thinking of the nineteenth century, we now have the exaltation of instincts and intuitions as the central determining motives of human actions. Spencer's whole gigantic theory of evolution turned on the doctrine of the inheritance of acquired characteristics. In the world-shaking controversy with August Weissman this doctrine was grievously shaken, and is now by the majority of biologists rejected. Spencer's psychology, probably his greatest and certainly his most original contribution to the field of modern science, is now almost completely swept aside by newer systems, of which the psychoanalytic is the most recent and seductive. In the sociological field, Spencer was an individualist of the individualists—his was the perfect, as it was undoubtedly the final, statement of the individualistic plan of life. Today, however, the pendulum, as Spencer himself foresaw, has swung to the extreme opposite end of the pole, and as a result we see the whole trend of modern life to be moving from individualism to socialization. As a moralist, Spencer was a hedonist, but today such a utilitarian viewpoint is hardly to be regarded as respectable. Spencer was pre-eminently a man of peace; his hatred of war was perhaps the one great passion of his life; his contrast between militarism

and industrialism as phases of civilization, is the most brilliant chapter of his "Principles of Sociology." But within a dozen years after his death, the world was plunged into the greatest war ever known in history, and mankind driven helplessly beneath a yoke of militarism more terrible than anything known to the empires of ancient time. So have the proud towers of his speculations fallen! The Spencerian system undoubtedly lies today in ruins. His cosmic synthesis, which both in scope and detail surpasses any conceived or developed by the mind of any single man in either ancient or modern time, is now reduced to chaos. The world is more tempted today to dilate on certain petty idiosyncrasies of Spencer's personal character, than to recall the stupendous generalizations of his thought.

All this must be admitted. It is probably true, however, as is pointed out by Hugh Elliot in his monograph on Herbert Spencer, that "if Spencer was overestimated in the nineteenth, he is certainly underestimated in the twentieth century." In the long run, he says, men will not be willing to forget the vast achievements of Spencer's life:

> We shall find that, without money, without special education, without health, he produced eighteen large volumes of philosophy and science of many diverse kinds; that he invented an entire new system of philosophy which for half a century filled the attention of all thinking people; that he led the chief controversies on Evolution and Biology without ever having received any tuition in these subjects; that he wrote perhaps the most important text-book of Psychology of his century, without any acquaintance with the work of his predecessors, and scarcely any with those of his contemporaries; that he established the science of Sociology in England; that in all branches of so-called Moral Science he was recognized as a leader; that he became the philosophic exponent of nineteenth century Liberalism; that he published a variety of mechanical inventions; and that on endless other subjects, great and small, he set forth a profusion of new and original ideas. A stable judgment will recognize in these achievements a true greatness that may withstand all passing gusts of popular opinion.

More important than these intellectual achievements are certain immortal ideals with which Spencer's name is inextricably identified. Thus will he ever be remembered as one of the doughtiest champions in the great battle of reason against authority. Undoubtedly reason was too exclusively reverenced by the liberals of the Victorian era; but undoubtedly also the emphasis today in the direction of intuitional philosophy is similarly exaggerated. Reason cannot be dethroned from its central place in the life of man. Church and state have alike striven to displace it; in our age, new and more terrible enemies have arisen against it. But they must inevitably fail! The vindication of the independence of the intellect and conscience of man over against all external institutional authorities of every kind, remains one of the noblest services of humanity. And Spencer rendered this service with a degree of courage and ability which few men in any age have ever attained.

In the same way, and by the same token, will Herbert Spencer be forever remembered as a champion of liberty. His definition of liberty was narrow; his love of liberty blinded him to certain unavoidable social developments which were essential to the salvation of the race. His fear of the tyranny of society over the single man led him to depreciate the value of social structure and the beauty of social life. He was himself the last man really to appreciate the significance of his own magnificent generalization, "the social organism." But all these were the defects of his supreme virtue, which was his recognition of and reverence for the spirit of liberty. It is not too much to say that he lived as well as thought to the one end that men might be free. Such freedom seems farther away from us today than ever. In some ways we are beginning our battle for liberty where our fathers began it centuries ago. But some day this battle will be won for good and all, and then will Spencer's name be written in letters of gold among those to whom humanity is most indebted for its achievement.

Again, Herbert Spencer made permanent contributions to the science of education. Himself a single man, in many ways a typical "old bachelor," he yet wrote the most original and influential book on education which was produced in the nineteenth century. All of our modern pedagogy begins with this little book, which has been more widely read than any other that ever came from Spencer's pen. To him we are indebted for the rights of childhood, the ethics of moral training, the introduction of science into the curricula of school and college, the proclamation of the freedom of the soul even from parental control.

Lastly, in this hopelessly inadequate survey of Spencer's contribution to civilization, must be included his analysis of the problem of war and his passionate advocacy of the cause of peace. On no point of the Spencerian horizon does the star of his glory hang so low today, perhaps, as here. And yet, just here is this same star destined eventually to reach its loftiest elevation. For when men at last have comquered war, and have found the way of peace, they will not forget that in the age which saw militarism engulfing the world and all but destroying the race, there was one great thinker who refused to compromise with it, who fought it for two generations with every weapon in the arsenals of thought, and by a supreme stroke of inspired genius pointed out that path of division between industrial and military life which constitutes the avenue of escape from the horrors of the strife of arms. Some day the pacifist and not the militarist will stand as the supreme hero in the hearts of men; and not least among the pacifists will be Herbert Spencer.

When Spencer died in December, 1903, his old friend John Morley was at Palermo, in Sicily. "The day of his funeral," writes Morley, in his "Recol-

lections," "I stood on the shore of the Golden Shell . . . pondering less upon the synthetic (philosophy) than upon an indefatigable intellect, an iron love of truth, a pure and scrupulous conscience, a spirit of loyal and beneficent intention, a noble passion for knowledge and systematic thought as the instrument for man's salvation." In this sober judgment of the one survivor into our day from among the group of the libertarians who glorified the Victorian era, we have, I believe, an accurate anticipation of the judgment of posterity upon the supreme thinker of the nineteenth century.

II.

Of Florence Nightingale comparatively little need be said. Early in her career, when the dazzling splendor of her heroic service as a nurse in the Crimea flashed round the world, mankind took her fame into its bosom and there has cherished it unchanged. Years before she died, the name of Florence Nightingale was a word to conjure with. As the "Lady of the Lamp" she became one of the glowing figures in the pantheon of man's love and adoration. In the retirement of her closing years, she became as a legend. It grew difficult to think of her as a modern woman, living in our own time, so lustrous was the halo of sainthood with which men had agreed to crown her. What Edith Cavell became in death, Florence Nightingale became in life. Even the "slings and arrows" of Lytton Strachey's cynical essay upon her career, in his brilliant book entitled "Eminent Victorians," have not served to mar the perfect beauty of the figure in which history has agreed to incarnate the spirit of this triumphant woman.

It seemed impossible, when Miss Nightingale died in 1910, that the fame in which she was laid away by a grateful and reverent humanity, could ever be increased, and yet just that thing took place when the Great War broke upon the world. Among all the nameless and indescribable horrors which have characterized this struggle, one thing has stood out as sublimely beautiful. This is, of course, the medical and nursing service which did what could be done to mitigate the agonies of modern warfare. In this blessed department, at least, science was the savior and not the destroyer of men; and this department, organized by the Red Cross, builded into innumerable hospitals and nursing stations, officered by thousands of skilled physicians and heroic nurses, supported by the millions of dollars eagerly offered, stands before us today as the perfect fruitage of the life of Florence Nightingale. Had this woman done nothing else than meet the problem which she encountered at Scutari, with a personal devotion and an administrative control which stand almost unique in the history of mankind, she would have been an immortal figure in the story of humanitarian endeavor. But her Scutari labors were only the beginning of the real achievements of her life. In public reputation her career ended when she put down her "lamp" in the Crimean hospitals, and returned to the undramatic ways of public life in England. But in the minds of historians it is known that only with this return to her own country, after her awful experiences in the Crimean War, did her real service begin. It was then that, with astounding perseverance and determination, she obtained the appointment of the Royal Commission for the investigation of the health of the army, and in the work of that Commission directed the investigations to a triumphant end. Barracks and hospitals throughout the kingdom were remodeled; ventilation, heat and light were provided, a pure water supply procured, and kitchens, toilets and sleeping quarters made sanitary. The system of army supplies was regulated in terms of efficiency and promptitude. The Army Medical Department was completely reorganized, an administrative code drawn up, and the principle established that it is the nation's duty to look after the soldiers' health. An Army Medical School was established. The practice of medical statistics was inaugurated. The Sanitary Commission, appointed at her suggestion and directed by her genius, did for the English troops abroad what the Royal Commission was doing at home. Few feats of statesmanship accomplished by men in official positions, can bear comparison with this which was achieved by one quiet woman, broken in health, living in retirement, but swayed by a dominant passion of pitying mercy.

But Florence Nightingale's reforming work went far beyond the military, and was extended into every walk of civil life. When armies are dispersed and warfare is no more, it will be remembered by a grateful humanity that it was Florence Nightingale who made nursing a profession, who rescued the task of ministration to the sick from the hands of the "Sairy Gamps" to the hands of those trained and disciplined to the work of healing. Her "Notes on Hospitals," written in 1859, revitalized the theory of hospital construction and hospital management. The opening of the Nightingale Training School for Nurses, at St. Thomas's Hospital, in 1860, marks the beginning of modern nursing. Every nurse who stands today by the bedside of the sick is an incarnation of the spirit of Florence Nightingale. Here this woman is destined to live forever, and minister, so long as bodies are frail, to human need.

When Florence Nightingale died, the Kingdom begged of her relatives the honor of burying her ashes in Westminster Abbey. This was declined, as Miss Nightingale had left directions that her funeral should be of the simplest kind, and that she be laid beside her father and mother in the churchyard at East Wellow. "But," says her biographer, Dr. E. T. Cook, "there was a wealth of flowers from people of

every kind, age and degree, and the lane and churchyard were filled with a crowd of men and women and children, most of them poorly dressed."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

The Great Question: "Will the Lesson of the War Be Lost?"

The War has placed the peoples on the rack. It has brought them a greater burden of pain than seemed possible for them to carry.

Perhaps we are justified today in asking ourselves if this martyrdom has, or has not, been vainly undergone, and in insisting that an expenditure of suffering so prodigious should, at least, serve some purpose.

And I find myself questioning myself.

I think men have felt the pain with which they have been afflicted to its full extent, and in all its bearings. But they have not fathomed it. They have experienced its crushing weight. But they have not visualized it as a whole—that is to say, in its true aspect. They have not grasped the cause, which is more important than the pain itself. They have reached no conclusion. They have gathered nothing.

The cause of their suffering remains, therefore, the threat which it embodies continues and grows unceasingly.

If men had understood, they would know now that the universal slaughter was no accident, but the logical consequence of social conditions. It is a false view which sees in war the phenomenon of a humanity whose primitive instincts have been let loose, and which has not yet succeeded in triumphing over the brute in man. The evil is no longer to be sought in the essential nature of man, but in man's blindness.

The social divisions under which the innumerable peoples of the world are enslaved at the bidding of a few, are responsible for the iniquitous Order which condemns the democracies to death. This Order derives its only power from the ignorance of the masses. The masses do not grasp the truth, and their indifference compels them to work, despite themselves, for their own destruction.

The perpetuation of such a system until the complete extinction of humanity is brought about would be certain if a few men had not suffered deeply enough, and long enough, to link up one with the other all these consequences: to connect the various causes with one another: to get right down to the bed-rock foundation of all this pain: in one word, to UNDERSTAND.

To understand is a grave, important, difficult matter. Some men have been touched by the grace of truth, and henceforth they are devoting their strength, their ability, and their lives to reveal to other men that the present misfortune of the world is not so much the tragical result of the war as of the whole organization of society.

Anatole France.

THE PULPIT

The Message of William Ellery Channing

The message of William Ellery Channing to his own age was like that of every religious genius to all ages. His word was an eternal word. The distinctive thing about him was not his theology which in the course of the changing thought of man could only survive for a day, but rather his deep and searching insistence upon loyalty to truth as the measure of the value of life.

To him the chief business of a minister was not to present the truths wrought out of human experience by the agony of others but to give his life to the uttermost in the discovery of new truth. His face was ever toward the future.

We can honor him not by repeating his words but by doing his deeds in our day and generation. He calls on those of us who read his burning words about freedom and justice to act in the present as he acted in the past. It is not a monument of stone or bronze, or a service of words that satisfies his eager passionate spirit but the tribute of an honest and sympathetic emulation.

We sometimes call ourselves Channing Unitarians. But this man who said that his fellowship was with everyman who sought the truth seeks no personal tribute. He cares nought for our words of praise, our fulsome eulogies. What he calls for from the depth of his soul is that we shall give ourselves to the service of man. If we want to know what he would have us do then we should read not what others say about him but rather what he said. His words are living words today even as they were when he uttered them.

If we are to honor him and to carry forward his message to the children of the future we must do his deeds today.

The following quotations are from the "Life of William Ellery Channing" by William Henry Channing, Centenary Edition.

The numbers at the end of each paragraph refer to the pages in that work.

The spirit of popery did not expire among our ancestors with its forms. Human nature and its ruling passions are always the same. . . . To this timid spirit we owe the worst corruptions of Christianity in earlier times, and it is this which still obscures the glory of our religion. . . . In this case our path is plain. Let us seek to be meek but bold professors of the truth. Let us all adhere with firmness to what we deliberately and solemnly believe to be the truth of God. Let us not shrink from its defence because it is persecuted, because it is unpopular, because it may expose us to an evil name. Truth should be dearer to us than reputation.

(216-7)

To rule over passive minds, to dictate to those who will not inquire and judge, seems to me a low ambition, a poor dominion. But the power of convincing, persuading, improving free and active and self-relying minds is a noble endowment. This is the only power over men which I covet. . . . A man of common sagacity may blindfold and lead behind him his fellow creatures. A much higher and nobler skill is required to heal and strengthen men's intellectual sight, and to open before them large and glorious prospects.

(363-4)

The minister is to speak as did Christ, listening to the Divine Oracle, ready to suffer and die, if need be, for the truth. A superiority to all outward consideration is the first qualification for the rightful pursuit of his profession. If he desires to stand fair with men, he will be a traitor to his Lord. If he asks himself what will please his hearers, rather

than what will benefit them, he desecrates his calling. Is he whose very work is to reform society to take society as his rule? The Christian minister is not sent to preach cold abstractions, to talk of virtue and vice in general terms, to weave moral essays for his hearers to admire and sleep on; but he is to quicken men's consciences, and to show them to themselves as they really are. On all subjects, where his convictions are in conflict with prevailing usages he is bound to speak frankly, though calmly. Not that he is to deal in vague and passionate denunciation, to be a common scold, a meddlesome fault finder. But if he thinks that the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits is a sin against society, he is to say so; if he believes that the sending of rum and opium to savage nations, to spread among them the worst evils of civilization, is a wanton crime, he is to declare his opinion; if he considers the maxims of the business-world hostile to integrity and benevolence, he is to expose their falseness.

At the present day there is little need of cautioning ministers against rashness in reproving evil. The danger is all on the other side. The danger is on the other side. As a class they are most slow to give offence. Their temptation is to sacrifice much to win the affections of their people. Too many satisfy themselves by holding together a congregation by amenity of manners, and by such compromises with prevalent evils as do not involve open criminality. They live by the means of those vices they should reprove and thus are continually ensnared by a selfish prudence. It is said that they have families dependent on them that may suffer for their fidelity. I answer, let no minister marry, then, unless the wife he chooses have such a spirit of martyrdom as would make her prefer to be stinted in her daily bread rather than see her husband sacrifice one jot or tittle of his moral independence. Is it said that congregations would be broken up by perfect freedom in the ministers? Better far would it be to preach to empty pews or in the meanest halls, and there be a fearless disinterested witness to the truth, than to hold forth to crowds in gorgeous cathedrals, honored and courted, but not daring to speak one's honest convictions, and awed by the world. (372)

Nothing will be done by the minister till he arouses in men a fervent energy of the moral principle. Decency, prudence, self-interest, regard to comfort, respectability are nothing. (378)

In proportion as the minister attains this elevation he will speak with plainness and without evasion. There is a certain fastidious way of treating subjects, as if they would be tarnished by direct speech, which destroys the power of preachers. The minister has other work than to amuse men. Grace, harmony, energy, are merged in the unity of the sublime end to which they all conspire. . . . O, the unspeakable littleness of a soul which, intrusted with Christianity, speaking in God's name to immortal beings, with infinite excitements to the most enlarged and fervent love, sinks down into narrow self-regard, and is chiefly solicitous of its own honor! The pulpit should be to the minister an alter, upon which he may offer himself up as a living sacrifice, pure, spotless. (379)

The following is an extract from a letter to Henry Ware, Jr., who had been recently elected to a chair in Harvard Divinity School. Professor Ware had asked Channing what he ought to teach his students.

I wish the young men to be more and more imbued with the "spirit of truth," the supreme love of truth, the least understood, least honored, least cherished of the virtues, and yet the cardinal virtue of a religious teacher. . . . No man is fitted to preach or promote Christianity who is not fitted to die for it. (380)

Advice to a young minister.

On no account in your public services try to exhibit by look or tone any emotion which you do not feel. If you feel coldly appear so. The sermon may be lost but your own truthfulness will be preserved. (384)

The several duties of a minister may be laid down easily; but it is not so easy to establish the relative rank of his various offices. Some would make the minister a student, some a visiting pastor, some a public speaker. Undoubtedly the same rule can not apply to all. . . . Still the great idea of the Christian minister is plain. He is to be a teacher; and, in order that he may teach, he must learn. His peculiar work is to quicken the community by the promulgation of exalting truth. The acquisition of this truth and the clear and powerful expression of it are, then, his chief labors; and these imply much solitary thought. He is to be a thinker. To this severe toil his life is mainly given. Of course he is to preach, converse, counsel. But the sermon which he preaches in an hour may be the result of months and years of meditation. The truth which he utters in a sentence may have cost him long, laborious research. . . .

Only private meditation can lead him up to worthy conceptions of the great realities of the spiritual life. His chief work he must do alone. He must live much in his study, and live there, not as a hypocrite or a cheat, amusing himself with light reading, whilst the world considers him a student, but in good faith tasking his powers for the discovery and forcible exhibition of truth. The study is too often an idle place, and yet a faithful student is the most laborious man on earth. . . .

It is sometimes said, that a minister does more by winning the love of his people than by hard study, because he thus secures an access to their hearts which no intellectual power could give. A minister should, indeed, be loved; but this sentiment should be a moral, rather than a personal, sentiment. It should be respect for his high virtues, a trust in his uncompromising fidelity, a grateful sense of his devoted, conscientious labors for a glorious end, more than an attachment growing out of private sympathies. . . .

These remarks are important, because, in this country, the dependence of the minister on the good will of his congregation strongly tempts him to make himself agreeable to his hearers. If he yield to the temptation he is lost. If the desire to be pleasing takes the place of aspiration after truth, the dignity of his mind is gone. We should never enter into communion with our fellow-men with the view of being agreeable as our chief end. . . . Our first purpose should be, to hold fast to truth and justice, however we may fail of sympathy; and this is especially the duty of a minister, whose great function is to bear witness to the truth. The minister is only degraded by his profession, if he seeks transitory approbation, by accommodating truth to men's passions and prejudices. The whole power of his office lies in moral self-subsistence; yet he is tempted to veer with every change of popular opinion. Let him, therefore, live much by himself, that he may learn to stand firm among his fellow men; let him dwell habitually in the region of everlasting truths, that he may not be the sport of the caprices of the day. (402)

I am persuaded that there is an increasing tendency to see the application of moral and religious truths, of the highest principles of Christianity, to political affairs, to the relations of nations, to all civil and social arrangements and institutions. (405)

We answer, truth is a greater good than peace . . . nor must we shut up in our breasts what we deem great truths, lest some sensitive person should be wounded. (424)

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

FAILURE.

Oh, long and dark the stairs I trod
With stumbling feet to find my God.

Gaining a foothold bit by bit,
Then slipping back and losing it.

Never progressing, striving still
With weakening grasp and fainting will.

Bleeding to climb to God, while He
Serenely smiled, unnoting me.

Then came a certain time when I
Loosened my hold and fell thereby.

Down to the lowest step my fall
As though I had not climbed at all.

And while I lay despairing there,
Listen, a footfall on the stair!

In the same path where I, dismayed,
Faltered and fell and lay afraid.

And lo! when hope had ceased to be,
My God came down the stairs to me.

—*Theodosia Garrison.*

CONTRIBUTED

How Prohibition Has Worked in America

Within the last year such a miracle has been wrought in America as to amaze the world. The transition from a situation in which we were spending $2,200,000,000 a year for alcoholic drinks to one in which no liquor can be bought legally as an ordinary beverage has been made with astounding ease, considering the difficulties and the power of the saloon in politics. Most of us expected we knew not what—disorder, riots, possibly insurrection. How were thousands of embittered men who craved drink to be dealt with? We had provided no adequate substitute for the saloon, the poor man's club, and we anxiously awaited trouble. What happened? In Boston a cigar company replaced the Alameda Wine Co. and took in the Terminal Wine Co. as well. A food shop took the place of many a saloon. The old toper who frequented the S. F. Petts saloon now goes there to buy candy for his children. The sale of candy has increased three or four fold. On Summer street, where they called for sweet and dry, bitter and smooth, Scotch and rye, the old customer walks in and asks for a dozen doughnuts, please. Here is Hamelberger's where there are the same old mirrors and same old bar, though the sawdust has been swept out. Now the customer mutters something modestly over the bar and the waiter shamelessly roars, "boil it hard, ham sandwich, sugar?"

What has happened in Boston has happened everywhere. Hotels that had bars now sell drugs and soft drinks and candy. Men eat more. The hotels are flourishing and people are learning new habits. A factory inspector who had to spend much time in courts and wait for hours for the "booze" cases to be finished now reports that her cases can come up at once. It all seems too good to be true. Here is the word from Peoria, Ill.—one of the greatest whiskey centers in the country. "There were only six persons in the city workhouse on March 1. Formerly the occupants frequently numbered 200."

In New York City, the Bellevue alcoholic ward has been closed for its original purpose and for two months has been used for influenza and pneumonia patients. Under war prohibition in 1919, arrests for intoxication were cut in two. The commitments to penal institutions for all causes were cut from 4,204 in 1918 to 2,576 in 1919. A large municipal lodging house which on stormy nights often sheltered 900 and turned applicants away is now so little used that it is proposed to close it as a lodging house and attach it to Bellevue hospital as a dormitory.

Commissioner Coler is quoted as saying,

> Here in this office where we come into direct contact with the acute phases of misery induced by drink, we feel improvement in a thousand ways. It is not so much the comparative figures relating to commitments and the decrease in the need of charitable relief, but it is the atmosphere it creates. This year we expect to receive $500,000 from patients in city hospitals who are able to pay for treatment and who are of a class who formerly would have been unable to pay anything. Last year we received $247,000 from this source. It is this condition, new phases of which develop every day that convinces me that Prohibition works an amazing improvement.

Philadelphians tell of a wonderful sight at the House of Correction where there are 1,100 vacant cells. There used to be 2,000 prisoners there and today there are only 475. Officials are setting their wits to work to utilize the vacant space for first offenders where, through education, they may be given a new start.

Recently, two branches of the municipal court in Chicago which handled criminal cases were closed. Crime had so decreased that there was nothing for the courts to do. The chief justice declared that Prohibition would undoubtedly require a reorganization of the various divisions of the court. San Francisco reports over 2,000 fewer cases a month since Prohibition went into effect than in the same months last year. In the first two months and a half of Prohibition, the nine national banks of San Francisco gained over $656,657,000 in deposits, an unprecedented increase. In Oregon a great brewery is beginning to manufacture furniture. Hitherto, Oregon raised the lumber, sent it by rail 1500 miles to the manufacturer and paid a third more than it ought to for the furniture shipped back to it. Another brewery is going to become a shoe factory. Oregonians have sent from the Pacific coast to the Atlantic for their shoes for seventy years, although they raise the hides. The new furniture and shoe factories will employ from twelve to sixteen times as many men as they did formerly and the price of shoes will be lowered.

In Meridian, Mississippi, at the new jail, there has been nothing doing and it is being turned into a municipal food shop where goods will be sold at cost. The editor of the Spokane *Daily Chronicle* wrote: "The *Chronicle* did not fight for Prohibition in 1914. It is ready at ten seconds notice to fight its best against any serious effort to repeal or cripple the prohibition law." Such efforts are being made and the question of constitutionality of the law has been carried by its opponents to the Supreme Court. The chief effort is to change the amount of alcohol allowed and to permit the sale of beer and light wines. In 1870, Massachusetts, after trying Prohibition, repealed the clause which covered beer, porter and wine. The cost of maintaining corrective institutions almost immediately jumped 14 per cent and arrests for drunkenness increased 72 per cent. Strenuous effort was made in the passing of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution which prohibits beer and wine to have them excluded, but the majority was two to one against it.

It was demonstrated that a small drink of whiskey contains no more alcohol than a couple of small glasses of three per cent beer. Thirty-three states had already prohibited more than one-half of one per cent of alcohol in any beverage. The large number of prohibition states and the preparation through the war prohibition very much eased the transition which could never have come about suddenly. So stringent has been the enforcement that dangerous wood-alcohol has been used in liquors palmed off for genuine and an alarming number of sudden deaths in consequence have given a terrible warning.

The political power of the saloon is being transferred to the banking class, said a banker of St. Paul, Minnesota. "It is interesting to note that as the big banks have taken the place of the big brewers and liquor men in politics, so in the little towns, the local banker as political agent has taken the place of the local saloon keeper."

Governor Edwards of New Jersey, though a total abstainer himself, is determined to carry the issue of prohibition into the Democratic political convention

and face the redoubtable William Jennings Bryan. It is not likely at this date that any change in the interest of local option will be granted, but whether there be or not, the marvelous record of the last year will go down in history and will be studied by all nations which are finding it hard to make ends meet.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

SELECTED

The Wicked Bolshevists

The treatment which the Bolshevists are getting in America illustrates the survival, even among fairly educated people, of the childish habit of making judgments. The child sees differences of moral values in extreme black or white. Men and their doings are either good or bad. The child is a bigot and a partisan. The old Calvinist teachings hardened this tendency into a philosophy and divided the world sharply between God and the devil, the children of God, destined for heaven, and the children of the evil one, doomed to hell. Under this teaching it became an easy duty to fight, to punish, and to kill your enemies. Their conduct could not be painted too lurid, lest we should cease to hate them. Likewise, our own conduct and that of our friends, our party, our allies must be made to look white, or we might find ourselves much the same kind of men as our enemies.

A little straight thinking shows us how false this kind of judgment is. Men are rarely quite good, as they are never wholly evil. As in all the rest of nature, so in moral growth the black and white are strangely mixed in men and their conduct. Not all the right is on our side; not all the blame is on the other side.

In the discussion of the Bolshevist question the partisan or Calvinist mind suffers no qualms in accepting the Czarist tyranny for an ally in its "holy war"; shocked as it was by the invasion of Belgium, it saw no wrong when imperial Japan committed the same outrage upon neutral China. It has not winced at the anarchical cruelties perpetrated by American officials upon our own countrymen and "the strangers within our gates." There has doubtless been a "red terror" in Russia, but we hear little of the ferocious "white terrors" instituted by Kolchak and the other factions, whom our allies have supported with our aid. We do not care for the horrible and wholesale suffering among any of the populations where our allies have been allowed to work their will. We say, "they deserve what they get."

The fact is, that the eternal struggle is not between bad men and good men, but between the forces working in all of us to pride, complacency, selfishness, greed, fear, cruelty and oppression, and the spiritual forces working in us towards justice, friendliness, cooperation, humanity and universal good will. The struggle is between the methods of violence, war, barbarism, and the methods of the Golden Rule, of moral courage and of faith in God. The great practical issue in the world today does not so much concern the details of national boundaries, as the deeper question of the attitude of the different peoples, and especially of the United States. Are they getting ready to put away their divisive armaments and tariffs, and to treat each other with free and neighborly friendliness? Who can be sure that Russia, and Germany too, are not nearer to a willingness for general disarmament than we are? In the case of the Bolshevists it is hard to see any moral difference in moral character between their leaders and the "Big Five" who composed the treaty that left the world in flames. No one in America desires Bolshevism in its present dictatorial form; there is no danger that such a scheme could prevail here. But I do not see that we have yet won a satisfactory or really representative government. There are features in the soviet program worth thinking about.

Meanwhile, the main issue about Bolshevism is not whether we approve their system, but whether we had any business to help meddle in a tremendous Civil War, and to send our boys to Siberia to die in behalf of frightened French bondholders and British Tories, or for any honorable reason? We ought to be near agreement on this point, inasmuch as our allies have thoroughly exhausted their peoples with the disastrous enterprise.

I plead here for the open mind as distinguished from partisanship. This certainly makes for the utmost modesty in us, since it urges us to face and tell the truth, and to be willing on occasion to alter our position and move on; it makes, too, for the widest charity towards all men, even when they are wrong-headed and mistaken, and towards what the world immensely needs, as much for its temporal as its spiritual, welfare—the general acceptance of the spirit of forgiveness, in short, simple humanity.

—*Charles F. Dole.*

Honolulu, March 31, 1920.

CASTLE IN SPAIN.

I have an endless garden—and I don't know where it is,
For I found and lost the title in a castle in Cadiz.
There are many little garden-gates, creaking like gulls
And a sea full of ships there, with gold on their hulls . . .
But why so many ships there and why so many gates,
Only my lost title-deed in Cadiz relates.
I have the tallest tower there that ever touched the blue,
But since I don't know where it is, I don't know what to do . . .
For I went there in a dream once—a wild wayfaring
Glad and magnificent beyond all caring . . .
And I wish I had the reason now that then I had
For being so magnificent and being so glad.
But who knows the measure of the distance to fare?
I hurried back to Cadiz. The castle wasn't there.
They told me that a mist had come and arrows of rain
And then a gust of darkness. And every window-pane
And doorway of the castle had vanished in Cadiz . . .
And what can you do with property, when you don't know where it is?

The Dial. —*Witter Bynner.*

From the London *Nation* we glean the following "holiday moods" by a wayfarer:

Jesus is the only character in history who always seems to say things perfectly; of others, or of the artists who represent them, you conclude, after reading and re-reading them, that they say some things well and most things not so well. One may affirm or deny that the mind of the world has outgrown Christianity. But its magic, at once simple and curious, remains.

"The Jews have no God," said a Christian anti-Semite the other day. "How sad," was the reply, "for then we have none either."

It is wise to take the heaviest burden and expect the lightest reward.

"Society," is the affectation of everything—of wit, good manners, art, literature, and above all, love.

A man may make paradoxes on his head; but if he would speak truth, it must be on his knees.

The "Times" seems to think that Bolshevism can be preached to death by wild curates.

THE STUDY TABLE

Three Important New Books On Asia

Asia is assuming an enormous new importance in the world. All Europe is recognizing this. There are a thousand signs that we in America are doing the same. Of course this means that we must have more books about Asia. Fortunately three new volumes of great value have been given to us recently through American publishing houses. One is "The New Map of Asia," by Herbert Adams Gibbons (The Century Co., New York); another, "The Awakening of Asia," by H. M. Hyndman (Boni and Liveright, New York); the third, "The Opium Monopoly," by Helen N. La Motte (Macmillan). All three are interestingly and attractively written; they give us information up to today, and they come from authors of standing and give every evidence of being trustworthy.

"The New Map of Asia."

Mr. Gibbons is an American scholar and writer who has had much experience in Turkey, Egypt and the Balkan states, and has written extensively on European, Asiatic and African subjects. In a sense his book is a history of Asia during the past twenty years, but it is more than a history, it is also an interpretation, and it gives us much information of an earlier date than the present century. The period of which it particularly treats is perhaps the most critical in the entire history of the Asiatic continent. The book tells us the amazing story of how nearly three quarters of the continent has been brought into subjection to the nations of the West—has been made virtually a political and economic annex to Europe. It pictures to us graphically, and with facts, figures and maps, Russia marching with giant tread to the far-off Pacific and seizing all northern Asia; the long attempt of Portugal to obtain Asiatic possessions, which ended in failure; the various successes and failures of Holland, which ended by giving her colonies in the East Indies, seven times as extensive and seven times as populous as our Philippines; France's futile attempts in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to establish a colonial empire in Asia, and in the nineteenth century her seizure of Aunam, Tonking and other territory from China and Siam; the attempt of Russia and Great Britain to partition and appropriate Persia; Great Britain's conquest of India and other extensive Asiatic lands; the encroachments of the different European nations upon China; the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire; the Rise of Japan, etc.

Mr. Gibbons maintains that Europe's conquests in Asia have had no moral justification. They have all been based upon the principles of the Prussian militarists and of the German Imperial Government—principles which America fought Germany to destroy. European eminent domain in Asia is the doctrine of the German *Uebermensch* put into practice. To use Mr. Gibbons' words, European dominance in Asia as we see it today cannot be justified "unless one believes either (a) that our particular idea of civilization is so essential to the world's happiness and well-being that it must be built up and spread and maintained by force; or (b) that so-called 'superior races' have the right to exploit, or at least to direct the destinies of, so-called 'inferior races'; or (c) that the bestowal of material blessings upon people is adequate compensation for denying them the right of governing themselves."

Mr. Gibbons' book shows clearly that Asia of right belongs to the Asiatic peoples as truly as Europe of right belongs to the European peoples; that the wars waged by Europe by means of which little by little she has extended her domain and brought Asia into political and economic subjection have been as unjustifiable as would have been similar wars waged by Asia to conquer Europe and reduce her peoples to political and economic subjection; that the subjection of three-quarters of the human race to the other one-quarter means not only injustice but an unstable equilibrium in the world, and therefore perpetual danger of wars so long as it continues; and that justice, freedom and self-rule for the great historic civilized peoples of Asia are a necessity if we are ever to have anything like world-peace.

"The Awakening of Asia."

Mr. Hyndman is a well known English writer who for many years has been a recognized authority upon Asia and especially upon India. His book covers somewhat the same ground as that of Mr. Gibbons, but in a different way. The two works supplement and confirm each other. Although Mr. Hyndman deals to some extent with all Asia, he gives his main attention to India, China and Japan.

To Japan he devotes four chapters. These form the least valuable part of his book, because they show prejudice against the Japanese people,—prejudice which seems strange in view of the intelligence, justice and fairness with which he treats China and India.

To China he devotes six chapters. These are admirable. In them he tells in a most interesting way the stories of China's long past, of the coming of Christianity to China, of opium in China, of the Boxer Rising and its consequences, of the remarkable reforms which the Emperor Huang-Hsu attempted to introduce, and of the rise and growth of the present Republic. One cannot read these illuminating pages without getting a new view of the intelligence and moral strength of the Chinese people, of the value of their civilization, of their remarkable achievements during the past twenty years in driving out opium, in remodelling their whole educational system in harmony with modern principles and ideals, and in setting up a republican government.

China has done great things in the face of enormous difficulties. Mr. Hyndman believes she will accomplish great things in the future. But the difficulties that she still has to meet are stupendous. Her most dangerous enemies are the European powers, which in the past have seized her sea ports and great slices of her territory, set up "spheres of influence" within her borders without her consent, forced opium upon her at the cannon's mouth, stolen franchises of priceless value wherever they have desired them, dictated her tariffs, taken control of her taxes, forced loans upon her at their own terms and compelled her to spend them as they commanded, and so on to the end of a long and shameful chapter. The same powers will play the same game in the future if they can. Will China be able to thwart them? Will the moral sentiment of the world support her in her efforts to thwart them?

Coming to India, Mr. Hyndman gives us only three chapters, but they are of considerable length, and on the whole they are the most important in the book. Hardly any other Englishman knows India so well.

Every person should read these chapters who wants to become intelligent concerning the real India, the India of a great past and a remarkable civilization, the India that has produced great literatures, great arts and great religions, the India that for a hundred and fifty years has been held in subjection by a foreign power which has exploited her, drained away her wealth, impoverished her, refused to give her education and made her people hewers of wood and drawers of water for her conquerors, and the India that is now protesting to the world against this bondage and is entering upon a tremendous struggle for freedom.

"THE OPIUM MONOPOLY."

Miss La Motte, the author of this work, is an American writer who for several years has been devoting herself to studies of the Orient. A book published by her a year ago, entitled "Pekin Dust," is attracting wide attention and is perhaps the most illuminating work on present day China and China's real relations to the European Powers and to Japan, that has appeared from any pen. No one should miss it who cares to understand inside conditions and events in Pekin during the war—the things which the censors would not let us know.

Her "Opium Monopoly" has been written since her "Pekin Dust" and promises to attract even wider attention. It is a small work, and is confined to one subject, but that subject is a serious one, not only for Asia but for all the world. There is no more shocking story in modern history than that of Great Britain waging two wars to force opium upon China in such quantities as to practically poison the whole nation. At last the Chinese Government by earnest, determined and most persistent efforts has stopped the open importation of the drug; although it is still smuggled in to a limited extent. But all Asia is suffering from it, particularly India. Practically all the opium of the world is produced and controlled by Great Britain; she has the world monopoly of it. She causes, virtually compels, the Indian people to produce it; devoting from 200,000 to 600,000 acres of the richest Indian soil, which ought to be used for growing food for the starving people, to the cultivation of poppies for the manufacture of this world-poison.

Miss La Motte tells us how she became interested in this subject and thus how she came to write her book. Her story is worth repeating. She says:

> On my way to Japan, in the July of 1916, I met a young Hindu on the boat who was outspoken and indignant over the British policy of establishing the opium trade in India, as one of the departments of the Indian Government. Of all the phases of British rule in India, it was this policy that excited him most, and which caused him most ardently to wish that India had some form of self-government, some voice in the control and management of her own affairs, so that the country could protect itself from this evil. Without this, he declared, his country was powerless to put a stop to this traffic imposed upon it by a foreign government, and he greatly deplored the slow but steady demoralization of the nation which was in consequence taking place; for the British rulers of the land not only sold the opium to the other nations of Asia, but insisted upon an extensive sale of it to the people of India. As this young Hindu produced his facts and figures, showing what all this meant to his people —this gradual undermining of their moral fiber and economic efficiency—I grew more and more interested. That such conditions existed were to me unheard of and unbelievable. It seemed incredible that in this age, with the consensus of public opinion sternly opposed to the sale and distribution of habit-forming drugs, and with legislation to curb and restrict such practices incorporated in the laws of all ethical and civilized governments, that here, on the other side of the world, I should come upon opium traffic conducted as a government monopoly. Not only that, but conducted by one of the greatest and most highly civilized nations of the world, a nation which I have always looked up to as being in the very forefront of advanced, progressive and humane ideals. So shocked was I by what this young Hindu told me, that I flatly refused to believe him. I listened to what he had to say on the subject, but thinking that however earnest he might be, however sincere in his sense of outrage at such a policy, he must be mistaken. I decided not to take his word for it, but to look into the matter for myself.

Then she tells how she did look into the matter for herself, studying government blue books and other official documents and getting information from the highest authorities in all the principal countries of the East. The result was, she found not only that all the Hindu young man had said was true, but that he had not told half the truth. Great Britain not only insists upon supplying opium to all her subject races, forcing its sale upon them, but she supplies it to all the other European governments that have colonies and dependencies in Asia and Africa, and they force its sale among their subject races. There are in India 17,369 drug shops, maintained by the authority of the government contrary to the wish of the people, where opium and intoxicating liquors are sold. The annual government revenue from opium in India according to the latest statistics is more than $15,000,000. Surely we cannot wonder at Miss La Motte's comment when she says:

> A nation that can subjugate 300,000,000 helpless people, and then turn them into drug addicts—for the sake of revenue—is a nation that commits a cold-blooded atrocity unparalleled by any atrocities committed in the rage and heat of war.

Where is there any hope for the Indian people? They hate and dread the poison which is slowly undermining the physical vitality and the moral life of the nation, and would gladly banish it as China has done. But so long as they are dominated by a foreign power that is willing to sacrifice the health, happiness and life of millions of its subjects for revenue, they are helpless. Their only hope, as the Hindu young man said, is in home rule. J. T. SUNDERLAND.

"Democracy has but one enemy . . . and to fight this enemy with anti-democratic weapons is to surrender to him. The most searching criticisms of democracy will do it infinitely less harm than a single act of injustice toward its critics. The advocacy of violence and crime cannot be permitted, and the physical-force revolutionists who attack officials or individual capitalists may properly be restrained or punished. But to suppress the books or the organs of radical groups because they *advocate* communism, anarchy, syndicalism, or guild socialism as systems preferable to ours is to evince distrust of genuine democracy and to violate its basic principles."

—*Victor S. Yarros.*
International Journal of Ethics.

"In times such as the present, all things are in the melting pot, in flux so mingled as to be obscured. Many incredible reconstructive developments have already startled us, and it behooves no one to prophesy how short or long a time may produce apparently revolutionary changes in that 'human nature' so frequently alleged to be immutable."

—*Thomas D. Eliot.*
International Journal of Ethics.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

ALLIED DEMOCRACY AND THE JEWS.

It has been said, and without exaggeration perhaps, that of all the nations and races affected by the great world war the Jews have suffered the most. Several million of them living in Eastern Europe were the victims not only of the unutterable woes which were incident to the war and which befell the entire population in those territories, but also of a special brand of suffering which was inflicted upon them as Jews. Added to the scourges and horrors and diseases of the fiendish conflict there were the humiliations and tortures resulting from Jew-hatred, which was particularly rampant because of the unbridled war passions. Their position was peculiar because they had no friends, their gentile co-sufferers, as well as the enemy forces, marking them out for special vengeance; so that they seemed in everybody's way and everybody's hatred and malice were wreaked upon their heads. Thus, deceived and betrayed by friend and foe alike, starved and beaten and massacred as never before, and their cry unheard and unheeded by civilization—one might well believe that in this war this ancient people had reached the apogee of their career as world martyrs.

But there was a strange paradox in their situation: The sufferings which came to them because they were Jews were confined almost exclusively to the Allied countries. It was not in Germany, in Austria-Hungary, in Bulgaria, or in Turkey, but in Russia of the Tsar, in Poland, and in Rumania that thousands of Jews were wantonly murdered by mobs of the civilian populace and the military both before and after the enemy forces had done their work of destruction; it was there that tens of thousands of them were turned out from their homes and driven into the open fields to die of cold, hunger and disease; it was there, in Poland and Rumania particularly, that untold woes and inhuman atrocities were heaped upon scores of Jewish communities because of the treachery of the Poles and Rumanians. Yet it is a known fact that not only were the Jews in the Allied countries, Jew-baiting Russia, Poland and Rumania included, intensely loyal and enthusiastic for the cause of the Allies but that even many Jews in the lands of the Central Powers secretly hoped that the Allies would come out victorious from the gigantic struggle.

What was the explanation for this attitude on the part of the Jews?

Like so many others, the Jews were ensnared by the democratic professions of the Allied statesmen, and they expected that with the downfall of Prussian militarism would finally come redemption from pogroms, boycotts, and oppressions. . . .

Today, however the Jews are disillusioned, at least as to Wilson and the Allies, for they have been awakened from their sanguine dream by the rude hand of a pitiless reality. To the several million of them living in Eastern Europe the "war for democracy" has brought not freedom and justice but greater misery and keener humiliation.

—*L. M. Glassman.*

The latest figures we have received show that by a conservative estimate one hundred thousand Jews have perished in pogroms in the Ukraine. No exact figures are yet available as to the number of the slain or the extent of persecution of the Jews while the anti-semitic governments of Generals Kolchak and Denikin still cumbered the earth. In Poland probably not over four hundred Jews have actually perished in pogroms, but life is made a living hell for them by economic and social discrimination; in a country where hunger is general the Jews fare worst. All the governments we have named had the support of the Allies. To a non-Jew it would seem as if the Allied endorsement of Zionism hardly balanced the account. Indeed, is not the future of Zionism rather precarious? Originally endorsed by the British foreign secretary, Arthur Balfour, it achieved the immediate object of securing the invaluable aid of enthusiastic Jewish support for the Allied cause. There is more than a little ground to suspect that it also achieved the purpose of enabling the British to go back on the none-too-creditable secret treaty which they had negotiated with the French for the division of Syria. What it has actually done for the Jews is less evident. Neither is it clear what chance Zionism will have against the rising feeling of nationalism in Syria. It must be remembered that the Jews are still a minority in Palestine. No one ought to object to their desire for a homeland, but it would be most unfortunate if that desire made them the pawns of imperialist diplomacy and diverted the more idealistic of them from their function as true internationalists.

—*The World Tomorrow.*

It's a "Case" of Necessity

Your Printing will be above criticism if done by

THE OAKLAND PRESS

728 E. 39th Street
Phone Douglas 244

Schumann & Company

Cleaners of

FANCY GOWNS AND KID GLOVES

Having winter garments cleaned before storing them will keep out moth

PHONE DREXEL 231
ALL DEPARTMENTS

MAIN OFFICE AND WORKS
3954 Cottage Grove Avenue

JUST PUBLISHED

Only by the Abolition of Neutrality Can War be Quickly and Forever Prevented

By LUIGI CARNOVALE

Author of the bi-lingual book (English and Italian)
"Why Italy Entered Into the Great War," Etc.

Price, 25 Cents

ITALIAN-AMERICAN PUBLISHING COMPANY
30 North Michigan Avenue Chicago

Advance Roofing and Sheet Metal Works
INCORPORATED

FRANK R. PRIEVE, Pres.
4830-32 Cottage Grove Ave.
Phone Oakland 3728

Sky-Lights and Sheet Metal Works. Gravel, Slate and Metal Roofing

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

SECTION FOR THE UNITED STATES

(Formerly Woman's Peace Party)

OBJECT:

To organize support for the resolutions passed at the Women's International Congress at the Hague in 1915 and in Zurich in 1919, and to support movements to further Peace, Internationalism and the Freedom of Women.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

Miss Jane Addams, President, U. S. A.
Miss Emily G. Balch, Secretary-Treasurer, U. S. A.
Mme. Gabrielle Duchene, France
Mlle. Marguerite Gobat, Switzerland
Frau Yella Hertzka, Austria
Frl. Lida Gustava Heymann, Germany
Frk. Martha Larsen, Norway
Miss Chrystal Macmillan, Great Britain
Mme. C. Ramondt-Hirschmann, Holland
Mrs. H. M. Swanwick, Great Britain

CONSULTATIVE MEMBERS, Executive Committee, Section for U. S. A.:

Miss Grace Abbott, Illinois
Miss Lillian D. Wald, New York
International Office, 19, Bd. Georges-Favon, Gevena, Switzerland

NATIONAL SECTIONS:

Australia	France	Netherlands
Austria	Germany	New Zealand
Belgium	Great Britain	Norway
Bulgaria	Hungary	Poland
Canada	India (British)	Sweden
Denmark	Ireland	Switzerland
Finland	Italy	United States

GENERAL OBJECTS:

To promote methods for the attainment of that peace between nations which is based on justice and good-will and to co-operate with women from other countries who are working for the same ends.

SPECIAL OBJECTS:

Those indicated by the Standing Committees and for immediate action to oppose universal compulsory military training; to oppose all invasions of Constitutional rights, free speech, free press and assembly and minority representation in legislative bodies; to oppose invasion of Mexico for purposes of war; to work to amend the League of Nations Covenant if it is ratified by the United States and if not so ratified, to secure a true Concert of Nations to substitute Law for War.

OFFICERS:

Chairman
Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, White Plains, N. Y.

Honorary Chairman
Miss Jane Addams, Chicago, Ill.

Secretary
Mrs. Lucy Biddle Lewis, Lansdowne, Pa.

Treasurer
Mrs. Hannah Clothier Hull, Swarthmore, Pa.

Vice-Chairmen
Miss S. P. Breckinridge, Ill.
Mrs. C. E. Cumberson, Calif.
Miss Zona Gale, Wis.
Mrs. Harriet P. Thomas, Fla.
Miss Jeannette Rankin, Mont.
Mrs. A. N. Winslow, Mass.

Members of the Executive Committee
Mrs. William Jennings Bryan, Neb.
Mrs. Walter Cope, Pa.
Miss Helena Dudley, Mass.
Mrs. Frederick Holt, Mich.
Mrs. David Starr Jordan, Calif.
Mrs. Eleanor Daggett Karsten, N. Y.
Mrs. Florence Kelley, N. Y.
Mrs. William Kent, Calif.
Mrs. Anna Rhoads Ladd, Pa.
Mrs. Henry G. Leach, N. Y.
Mrs. Lola Maverick Lloyd, Ill.
Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Mass.
Miss Rose Standish Nichols, Mass.
Mrs. George Odell, Wash., D. C.
Miss Juliet Poyntz, N. Y.
Mrs. Frederick J. Taussig, Mo.
Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, Wash., D. C.
Mrs. John Jay White, Wash., D. C.
Miss Ellen Winsor, Pa.

STANDING COMMITTEES:

Fight the Famine Crusade
Education—Sub-committee on Physical Education
League of Nations
Oriental Relations
Universal Free Trade
Citizenship: to permeate the Americanization Movement with the spirit of Internationalism
Pan-American Relations
Labor
Legislation, Chairman, Mrs. George Odell, 1623 H St., Washington, D. C.
Finance, Chairman, Mrs. Marion B. Cothren, 144 East 40th St., N. Y.

All American women are urged to join this Section for U. S. A. of the Women's International League by use of the appended slip.

Date.....

I hereby enclose one dollar for membership in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Section for U. S. A., for the year 1920.

Name..... Address.....

I also enclose $..... as contribution to the work of the organization.

I wish to help in the work of the following committee.....

Make checks payable to W.I.L.P.F., Section for U. S. A., and send to Eleanor Daggett Karsten, Exec. Sec'y, Room 1616, 33 W. 42d St., N.Y.C.